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# People.

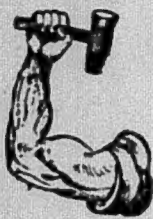
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VOL. IX.—NO. 30.

HENRY KUHN, Nat'l Sec'y, S. L. P.

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 22, 1899.

PRICE 2 CENTS.



## THE HAMMER

### FALLS UPON THE HEADS OF THOSE WHO WANTED TO STEAL IT.

#### Decision of the New York Secretary of State.

##### The Emblem Remains Where It Always Belonged.

The first official decision on the pretensions of the Kangaroos was rendered by the New York Secretary of State on two contests arising over the nominations for Justice of the Supreme Court in the Fifth and Sixth Judicial District.

These nominations go to the Secretary of State, because they are made for contingencies embracing each more than one county.

In the Fifth Judicial District, embracing six counties, the regular convention of the S. L. P. was held at Syracuse and was attended by delegates from Sections Syracuse and Utica.

Comrade Frank D. Roberts, of Section Syracuse, was nominated, and the certificate of his nomination was filed with the Secretary on September 20.

On October 2, a certificate of the nomination of Charles Voss for Justice of the Supreme Court for the same District was filed by the Kangaroos. This nomination was made at an alleged convention held by a minority of Section Syracuse, composed of the German branch.

On behalf of our regular candidate objections were filed to the nomination of Voss.

In the Sixth Judicial District, embracing ten counties, the regular convention of the Party was held at Sydney, Delaware County. Delegates from Sections Sidney, Norwich, (Chenango County) and Oneonta (Otsego) attended this convention and nominated Comrade Edwin C. Elston, of Section Norwich, for Justice of the Supreme Court. The certificate of his nomination was filed in Albany on September 28.

On the same day the Kangaroos filed a certificate of the nomination of John J. Kafka. This nomination was made by an alleged convention held by the suspended Section in Oneida, one of the few Kangaroo Sections in the State of New York.

Objections were filed against both nominations for the Sixth District. A hearing on the nominations for both the Fifth and the Sixth Districts took place before the Secretary of State on Tuesday, October 10.

The most significant feature of the proceedings was the choice of counsel made by either side.

Our State Committee, relying on the strength of our case, had selected Mr. Benjamin Patterson, an attorney, whose qualification lay in his competence to bring out clearly the facts and the law.

The Kangaroos had retained the LAW-FIRM OF EX-GOVERNOR BLACK, Messrs. Black, Olcott and Gruber. It so happens that the present Secretary of State, Mr. John T. McDonough, was formerly Commissioner of Labor Statistics by appointment of Governor Black. The Kangaroos, knowing the facts and the law of their case to be weak, relied on the political pull of their counsel. How much they relied on this, Col. Gruber, Black's partner, betrayed when on the hearing before the New York Police Board, on October 11, he sought to get that Board to make its decision dependent on the decision of the Secretary of State.

But the Secretary of State found that, even if every controverted point of fact was construed in favor of the side represented by his friends Black and Gruber, that side was still hopelessly wrong.

On October 13, he gave his decision in favor of our regular nominations in both Judicial Districts. In support of his decision he wrote the following opinion, which, though referring especially to the case of the Sixth District, where Comrade Elston is our nominee, applies to both nominations. The opinion is as follows:

State.  
Hon. John T. McDonough, Secretary of State. Decided October 13th, 1899.

IN THE MATTER of the Objections to the Nomination of EDWIN C. ELSTON for Justice of the Supreme Court for the 6th Judicial District.

Black, Olcott and Gruber, For the Objections.  
Benjamin Patterson, Opposed.

The Socialist Labor Party, at the last general election, polled more than ten

thousand votes in this State, and is therefore entitled to make party nominations by filing party certificates. There is, however, a division within the party into two factions, each claiming to be regular, and each claiming the right to use the party name and device.

One of these factions has offered for filing in the office of the Secretary of State, a certificate of the nomination of Edwin C. Elston, for the office of Justice of the Supreme Court, in the Sixth Judicial District, and the other faction has offered a certificate of nomination of John J. Kafka for the same office. Each faction has filed objections against the filing of the certificate of the other, and the Secretary of State is called upon to determine in the first instance, which of these certificates is to be filed. Section fifty-six of the election laws, among other things, provides as follows:

"If there be division within a party, and two or more factions claim the same or substantially the same device or name, the officer aforesaid shall decide between such conflicting claims, giving preference of device and name to the convention or primary or committee thereof, recognized by the REGULARLY constituted party authorities."

The question to be determined is made difficult by the fact that there were not only two judicial conventions held, one by each faction, but there are two bodies, each claiming to be the regularly constituted State Committee of the Party, and one of these bodies recognizes the regularity of the nomination of Elston, and the other the nomination of Kafka.

One of these bodies is headed by Herman Schluerer, and the other by Charles L. Furman, and for convenience they are herein designated as the Schluerer State Committee and the Furman State Committee.

With a view of enabling me to ascertain and decide which of these is the regularly constituted State Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, many affidavits have been presented containing a history of the Party, of its proceedings and of its division.

The constitution of the Party provides that its affairs shall be conducted by a national board of appeals, a national executive committee, state committee, local sections, national conventions and by a general vote. The national board of appeals was chosen by the "seat" of the Party at Cleveland, and the National Executive Committee, by the "seat New York."

Prior to July 10th, 1899, it is conceded that there was only one body claiming to be the State Committee. A regular meeting of "seat New York" was held on the evening of July 8th, 1899, at which meeting there was much disturbance, and it broke up in a row.

Immediately thereafter thirty-five delegates to the General Committee, "seat New York," issued a call for a special meeting of the General Committee for the purpose of taking action on the conduct of the officers of the General Committee at the above-mentioned regular meeting. This special meeting was called for July 10th, 1899, and was published in German in a paper called the "New Yorker Volkszeitung." The notice translated is as follows:

To the Delegates to the General Committee of Section New York, S. L. P.

"WHEREAS, The officers and the City Executive Committee of Section New York, S. L. P., in a most scandalous and dictatorial manner prevented the General Committee from holding its regular meeting;

WHEREAS, the present critical condition of our Section requires speedy and determined action; and

WHEREAS, The conduct of the Organizer at our last meeting was such as to actually place himself outside of our Constitution, for which action he should no longer be entrusted with carrying out the duties of his position; therefore,

We, The undersigned, request the delegates to the General Committee to attend a special meeting of the said Committee to be held on Monday, July 10th, 8 P. M., at Langbut's Hall, 355 Bowery, for the purpose of reorganizing the Committee and to take action upon the conduct of our officers, and in regard to the situation in our Section."

It was customary to have special meetings called by the organizer or the executive committee, consisting of the organizer, recording secretary, financial secretary, treasurer and other members, and to publish such calls in a newspaper called "The People." There is nothing to show that this call was made by any of these officers, or that any of them had notice of the meeting, except the organizer.

The special meeting was held on July 10th, 1899, and passed resolutions charging seven members of the National Executive Committee and the members of the State Committee with neglect of duty and thereupon and therefore suspended and elected temporary officers in their places.

The state committee so suspended and deposed, for neglect of duty, is the aforesaid Furman State Committee, and the committee appointed in their stead is the Schluerer Committee.

If that meeting was regularly called, and had authority under the constitution of the party to suspend the former committee, it follows that the latter committee is regular, otherwise the former one is regular.

It is unnecessary to pass on the right of the members above mentioned to issue notice of the special meeting, as this matter may be disposed of on the ground that the meeting, even if regularly called, acted without authority in suspending the State Committee.

The constitution of the party, Article III, Section 4, provides that "in the election of a State Committee and its recall, the SAME rules shall hold good that govern the National Executive Committee."

(Continued on Page 2.)

## The "Tramps" Of Slatersville.

By THOS. CURRAN, Providence, R. I.

In these last few weeks there have risen up in the West persons frantic to put on the New England mill workers a slander which their own exploiters will not utter. Naturally, the slander issues first from a pedantic editor, more naturally it is born of hate, and still more naturally was it gleefully employed in an agonized effort to crawl from beneath an overwhelming load of just condemnation. Picking out a phrase from one of the many articles on the Slatersville strike, so the pedant, too fool with his own hate to recall what had previously been written on the same subject, and too eager to get in an impotent thrust at the Nemesis that had justly exposed him, so the pedant unctiously and gleefully declares the Slatersville strike was not a glorious victory and pronounces the strikers "tramps."

The Slatersville strike was fought and finished, and now we have its full history. Let us read it through and see who is the fakir. Note well the cause of the strike, its result, and consider the lot and the ways of the tramps. Slatersville is the "jumping off" place of all New England mill villages. All mill villages are bad, but Slatersville is so much so that it is the last resort of the tramp mill worker. Its help comes and goes; it is always looking for help. None stay long but a few families born and bred there and who know no better. The rest are a polyglot collection of people who rove and roam under stress of the harsh circumstances attendant on mill life. The first class at home and the second class at its halting places never amounted to much in sallies against the cotton kings in the economic arena, and counted nothing at all at the ballot box. Slatersville was one of the slums of mill life and most sterile ground for sowing Socialistic thought. Yet how well Socialism has in its germs for fructifying under most adverse conditions the story of Slatersville shows.

About two years ago a member of the S. L. P. drifted into the village to work and got quickly disgusted. Bad work, poor pay, he was ready to move on, but seeing the servile ignorance of its people he chose to stay and, if possible, help them to clear vision and manly conduct. Soon after the State Committee had Slatersville on its circuit, a few open air meetings were held, the hitherto docile wage slaves became aroused and on election day the S. L. P. had a 27 per cent. vote in the town. The next year, the spring of 1899, came the strike epidemic in Rhode Island mills, and Slatersville, heretofore so mild and quiet, was soon aflame with the disease. At once the S. T. & L. A. was inaugurated there. They would have no other from the start. The pure and simple did not apply, for they knew they were not wanted. The strike was conducted with Socialist leaders and Socialist speakers, and in a few weeks the end came with an advance in wages and a recognition of the Alliance.

When a pure and simple union comes off victorious in a strike, straightaway its members drop off and it goes down to disruption. How different the aftermath with an economic organization planted on Socialist principles is seen in Slatersville. The comrades after the strike was won set to work to strengthen their position and, realizing the necessity of making their belief in the potency of political action on class-conscious lines something more than mere lip service, they at once arranged to establish a strong, lively Section of the S. L. P. in the village. This was too much for the mill management. They could, if needs be, tolerate a trade union merely professing a bent towards class-conscious politics, for professions would be an exhaust valve for expansive thought. It was different when the S. L. P. was likely to be hitched up with the S. T. & L. A. That was notice that the mill slaves had tied down the exhaust valve and the power engendered by right thinking was to run into vigorous action. The 27 per cent. vote had been set down to a fit of temporary aberration of minds. The latest move of the nomads and fossils of Slatersville gave convincing evidence that the malady was spreading. "Theories, that is all," was the verdict of the first diagnosis, but now the theories were becoming conditions. Drastic measures were in demand, and the fiat went forth that Socialism must be killed in whatever form it appears, economic or political, for one begets the other, and the two are inseparable. Socialism was to be driven out of the heads of the mill workers, or the whole lot driven from the village.

The scheme was carefully planned and undertaken. One day a comrade was discharged on a simple pretext. The superintendent had his ears to the ground and heard nothing. After a day or so another comrade was dropped without any good reason. Nothing came of this and the scheme was evidently a good one. Now for a master stroke. Another comrade who worked in a part of the mill that was not involved in the first strike was discharged by a foreman who had just been elected to the Assembly on the Republican ticket, and when the comrade inquired the cause he was bluntly told that it was because he was a Socialist and had been too active in organizing work. This was the evening of the very day appointed for organizing the Section of the S. L. P. It needs no second thought for the Socialist to discern what the corporation was up to, and the comrades by the light of their Socialist knowledge were not slow in perceiving its purpose. Despite the threatened penalty the Section was formed with more than a score of charter members, and as the names were written down the signers

all realized they were marking themselves for persecution. "We know what this means," they said. "We shall be singled out for oppression, but we are ready." After the Section was organized, the Alliance met and appointed a committee to investigate the cases of the discharged comrades. For a day or two the corporation was still. The committee then called on the superintendent, and right after it left him three more comrades had their walking papers. There were six of them now, and all six the foremost of the active Socialists. The rest of the comrades were for striking at once, but the victims advised them to go slowly. Finally a delegation was sent to the D. A. in Providence to state the case and obtain advice.

The discharged comrades urged against a strike on their account. They did not fear picking up their traps and taking to the road, for they were used to that, and Slatersville was not a paradise. They depicted the misery and privation that would ensue if another strike occurred with the people so little prepared. Yet they had to admit when the question was squarely put to them that this was but the beginning and that the corporation intended to rid the village of every known Socialist. It was a choice between being discharged singly or striking in an effort to prevent this. Falling in the latter they would at least have testified to the rigid solidarity which Socialism had brought to them and merely replaced a discharge by retail with one on the wholesale.

The comrades at work settled the question themselves. They struck. It was a case of hanging together or hanging separately. They did not mind that so much. The motive behind them was the fact that they understood that the corporation was not victimizing them simply for forming a trade union. The Slater Mills Corporation, like the henchmen of the Cotton King, Knight, had expressed a belief in trade unions, but trade unions where they could settle disputes with a gentleman like M. Whitehead of Fall River. They were to be victimized because they were not content to talk for Socialism, but voted for it. They debated their line of action and had three courses before them. First, if they submitted they would have to give up their principles, forsake the Alliance and the Party, and see that no Socialist votes went into the ballot box at future elections or their doom was sealed. Second, if they refused to submit, and yet did not strike, one by one they would be sent adrift, and thus divorced from associates and familiar comrades, some of whom, not yet firmly anchored to Socialist teachings, might lose heart and belief. Third, if they resisted the intimidation of the corporation and struck, even if they did not force a truce, they could in any event go off together and breathe courage and fortitude into the weaklings.

Considering the original mental and economic status of the Slatersville mill slaves one would not be surprised if in picking their way among the three courses of action confronting them they had made a false step. Yet they steered straight, and this is token of the tonic effects of Socialism on diseased minds and weak wills. They foresaw if they adopted the first or second course they were wholly lost. More than that. In advance they could see the jubilation of the mill corporations, they could read the epithets made ready by the capitalist press, and they could hear the mocking taunts and howls of the labor fakirs. They chose the third course and held it to the last.

The D. A. in Providence understood well the task it had in hand. The contest was pregnant with much good or harm to the Socialist cause. If the strikers could be maintained, if they could be kept together, and if in the event of no compromise the families could be sent to other places, then the Alliance and the Party would have demonstrated in their very infancy the power of Socialism to withstand and blunt capitalist oppression. With such a result it would be plain to the proletariat that a Socialist organization, unlike the pure and simple, would not, were it at all possible, permit its members to be bulldozed and would protect them even in seeming defeat. Furthermore we would spread before the capitalist mill men of Rhode Island and New England a lesson whose novelty would open their eyes aghast and make them timorous about courting a repetition—that the Socialist trade union was backed up by the S. L. P., a political organization, which, besides marking its ballots for the wage slaves in elections, was eager and willing to help them with its money in strikes.

Fortunately the D. A. had in it comrades, who, though not editors or Marx's improvers from the West, had trained with the S. L. P. more than a couple of years. They knew the temper of the Party and appreciated that the bulk of the membership was heart and soul with the Alliance. Appeals were at once sent out for funds, and the answers were profuse and speedy. A splendid sum counting up \$1,876 was contributed to the strike fund, and the approval of the Party on the question of the S. T. & L. A. is proclaimed in the \$800 forwarded directly by more than 120 Party organizations and the \$400 contributed by many hundred Party members, the balance coming mostly from the Alliance organizations.

The generosity of the comrades in the Party and the Alliance made the mill corporation sick, washed the black out of the ink of the editorial epithet writers, and drove the labor fakirs into their holes. The strike was maintained perfectly. As in the first strike, it

was one of weavers only. The other parts of the mill were not affected at any time in Slatersville as elsewhere, and could not be easily organized. The weavers are the thorn in the side of the mill owners. The other wage slaves can be too easily replaced to be a factor in an economic strife with the employer. New help was brought in and as quickly shipped out. The strikers were furnished whatever supplies they required, and, when sufficient time had elapsed to obtain an agreement of immunity for Socialists and it was not forthcoming, the heads of the families were transported to whatever points they chose to look for work, supported while so engaged, and when obtained they, their families and their household effects were all sent to their new location, the bills were all paid by the D. A., and sufficient supplies were sent or money furnished to maintain them until the wages from their new jobs were actually in their hands. And this treatment was accorded every one. In a great majority of cases the jobs were secured by Alliance comrades in neighboring towns and cities without any searching whatever on the part of the strikers. No one had to hoof it anywhere, and, to be more explicit for the sake of putting a good hard stone in the way of the rolling of a vicious lie spun out of a vicious Western imagination, THERE WAS NOT ONE LABORER TURNED INTO A TRAMP: in fact not one of the strikers could claim for this particular migration of his one of the qualities that would mark him a tramp weaver.

Perhaps it is playing the "fakir" to state that Slatersville was a glorious victory. If so, then the word has assumed a new meaning, one that should bring honor to the wearer. With the going of the last striker, the Slater mills increased the rate of pay of the weavers. Did it do that because it was victorious? On the contrary, it was done to induce weavers to come to the village, and, though three months have elapsed since the exodus was accomplished, the corporation still has empty houses, with ample room in its mill for weavers. Among mill workers, organized and disorganized, pure and simple or not, the "Slatersville strike" are words to conjure with, and capitalists and capitalist papers have a care about referring to it.

Again, with the passing away of the strikers, all the business men in the nearby city of Woonsocket, perceiving the financial loss to themselves, howled with rage at the stubbornness of the corporation in driving its employees to such harsh measures. A capitalist sheet, the Woonsocket Reporter, admitted that in migrating without submitting, the strikers had scored their best point. When it is remembered that one family of nine members had been 35 years in the place, and another 33 years, and both readily rent asunder all associations rather than yield, we can appreciate the victory that Socialism won in Slatersville.

Had pure and simple managed the strike, the rank and file would have been scattered to the four compass points and been lost forever, but the Comrades wherever they went are still in harness for the Alliance and the Party. We hear of them from all sides, and their action is proven by the numerous calls that come to us from heretofore lethargic communities for speakers and organizers.

Much has been said and written about the Slatersville strike, and the valiant struggle of its class-conscious proletarians against capitalist persecution. The real issue involved has not before been explicitly set forth. It has run between the lines, however, of all that has been published upon the subject. Yet because it has not been expressly stated hitherto, a voluminous and mendacious letter writer and false prophet, led either by a mental obtuseness that could not see it, or prompted by a splanetic mind that would conceal it, takes advantage of the seeming omission, and his vitiated imagination as an opportunity to locate a fakir in Beekman street. Driven from Syracuse to Rochester, to bolster up his falsehoods, momentarily expecting the publication of his poltroonery and imbecility in the Story of Maywood, and partaking to excess of his concoctions of prophecies promising but two weeks of life to the "De Leon Bubble," the pedantic editor turns in his delirium to Slatersville and, thinking to find the Comrades evolved into tramps, sneers at the "glorious victory" gained there.

The Battle of the 10th was a real eye-opener. It revealed the traitors in the Party. It did more. It developed the avidity of such purveyors of pedantry as Simons for illicit reasoning. A few hundred wage slaves, persecuted because they are Socialists, choose to migrate rather than subordinate themselves to their oppressor. The pedant, who must always look for his cue in his little book, finds nothing there to cover the case, and, wholly lost, snarls out "fakir" to whoever sees in Slatersville a victory, and dubs the heroic proletarians "tramps." The laborers of Slatersville turned into tramps! If the laborers in all nooks and corners of this country were turned into such camps, the cause of Socialism would not now be knocking for recognition. Far better tramps like those of Slatersville than to leave them dumb-drivers voting cattle of the type of Maywood.

It was Socialism, not the strikers, that was on trial at Slatersville. At their first meetings they were told all this, and when it was said to them that, if they would not deal the Socialist movement a black eye, they should fight to the last, and, if necessary, leave the village, they stood up and declared they would make the corporation yield, or they would shake the dust of Slatersville off their feet. They fought the fight, they proved their word, they kept their promise.

THOMAS CURRAN.  
Providence, R. I., Oct. 10, 1899.

## OHIO.

### Intricacies of the Capitalist Political Bunco Game.

#### Tricks and Tricksters Calore.

The Fabric of Capitalism, with All its Parties, Factions, Millionaires and Labor Fakirs, is but One Octopus with Tentacles and Suckers in All Directions. —You Cannot Strike It at Any Point without Affecting Its World-Embracing Organism; and it Cannot be Struck Anywhere but with the S. L. P. Hammer.

"The key is dead; Long live the bar!"

This is the keynote of capitalist politics this fall in Ohio; "boose and boodle" are the unwritten watchwords more than ever. Everything but the clean-blooded proletarian S. L. P. runs to rotten millions. Everywhere thick-necked, pot-hatted political animals and labor fakir weasels, denouncing this or that candidate and then suddenly, like the Apostle Paul, seeing a "great light." Hanna and boodle, McLean and boodle, Jones and boodle; these three, but the greatest of these is Boodle. Nominally five, actually three, other parties than the S. L. P. are running; all "trust smashers," all millionaires and multimillionaire controlled; each such capitalist shark accompanied close at its head and mouth, by the ever-present pilot-fish, the labor fakir, to guide the shark to its prey, the working class. On the Republican side are the Cleveland millionaires, Hanna, Rockefeller, Herrick; the Springfield millionaire, Governor Bushnell; the McKinleys; Nash, the candidate, and a rich man; and a multitude of other millionaires.

On the Democratic side are a host of Bryan millionaires; the candidate for governor, \$15,000,000 Washington gas and street railway magnate McLean; millionaire manufacturer Thomas; the chairman of the Democratic state central committee, Kilbourne, millionaire banker and manufacturer and rival of McLean for the nomination, Bookwalter, millionaire manufacturer; Paul J. Sorg, Tobacco Trust millionaire; Tom Johnson, \$40,000,000 steel and trolley trust magnate; Horace Chapman, big coal operator, candidate in 1897 for governor; Peter Schwab, big Hamilton "scab" K. of L. brewer; Gen. A. J. Warner, rabid free silverite and president of a couple of railroads, etc., etc.

A third party—and by its name a confession to the identity of the "principles" of the two old parties and of its own identity with them—is the "Non-Partisan Party" of Sucker-rod monopolist and millionaire Jones, supported by another millionaire and by a number of financially and intellectually bankrupt business men. I am told by a business man who travels a good deal to Corsicana, Texas, that Jones has made \$250,000 there alone, and it would not be strange if the action of Gov. Hogg in driving the Standard Oil from Texas had for its driving force the interests of Senator Mills, Jones and others. Nor would it be astonishing if Jones' desire for political power was animated by a desire to protect himself against the Standard Oil Company in Ohio, as he also has investments in the oil fields, and with political power could protect himself or so sandbag the trust as to be let into it on the "ground-floor." Jones owns one of the finest residences in Toledo and his wealth may be judged by the statement of a Republican paper quoting one of Jones' leading men to the effect that he is spending \$1,000 a day on his campaign. The mass of literature, the campaign managers, the newspaper support, the maintenance of headquarters, the use of brass bands, the large number of speakers, the drift of riff raff, etc., are certainly costing a very large sum, without any mention of money put "where it will do the most good."

Another party (nominally alone, though really dead) is the Union Reform party, backed last year by three millionaires.

The Prohibition party, also dead in fact, belongs to one of the richest men in the world. The Republican and Democratic platforms both "denounce the trusts" and as shown above both are filled with trusts. On the Republican side we find Hanna, Osborne (McKinley's cousin) and McKinley himself together in the big Pittsburgh Coal Co., of \$64,000,000 capital, behind which probably stands Rockefeller; and as a partner of Rockefeller in the Federal Steel Trust we find the big Bryn Mawr single taxer Tom Johnson.

Turning to McLean, we find he has an absolute monopoly of the Washington, D. C. gas business, which is under the sole dictatorship of McKinley (by United States constitution). This McKinley monkeys not with the other Mac's monopoly, they being doubtless two Macs with but a single "make." McLean buys McKinley's coal and owns \$500,000 of McKinley's District of Columbia bonds. Interesting it is to note also that Congress, which makes the laws for the District and is composed almost one-half of Democrats, has made not one move to interfere with McLean's gas monopoly.

The Chicago Chronicle says McLean is probably interested in many enterprises of which Hanna is the head. At any rate, as a Wall Street speculator he

(Continued on Page 3.)



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## SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential).....2,069  
In 1890.....19,331  
In 1892 (Presidential).....21,157  
In 1894.....38,183  
In 1896 (Presidential).....36,564  
In 1898.....82,204

Hungry and fainting for food you ask me to join you in snapping—  
What but a pink-paper confit, with motto romantic inside it?  
Wishing to stock me a garden, I'm sent to a table of nosegays;  
Better a crust of black bread than a mountain of paper confessions,  
Better a daisy in earth than a dahlia cut and gathered;  
Better a sowslip with root than a prize carnation without it.

CLOUGH.

## OUR EMBLEM.

There is little to add, editorially, to the first article on the first page of this issue, in which will be found—preceded by some explanatory statements of our own in special relation to the conduct of the case, the full text of the decision of the New York Secretary of State against the "Forty Kangaroos" and in our favor.

Their vicious scheme to legally steal the emblem of the S. L. P. was in keeping with their burglarious attempt to possess themselves of its press and archives. In both instances the "Hammer" fell upon their heads with amazing force. The power of the S. L. P., which created that press and that emblem, and is steadily battering down the fortress of capitalism, cannot be challenged with impunity.

This indeed, is not the power of the midnight robber, armed with mallets, clubs and jimmies. Nor is it the power of the intriguer, using a political rope. Democratic here, Republican there, to strangle its intended victim. It is the power of right, of light, of truth.

In this contest before the Secretary of State we had on our side the plain facts and nothing more. They were so plain, however, that the decision could not have been other than what it is, without subjecting the official who rendered it to grave suspicion in the eyes of all honest men. It is not for us to inquire whether the suggestive impertinence of the "Kangaroos" in selecting the law firm of ex-Governor Black to present their case, had anything to do with the severe rebuke which the Secretary of State deemed it highly proper to inflict upon them in his scathing review of the means and methods resorted to by them, both in New York and in Cleveland. But this we may say: It is a terrible comment on their moral sense—or, to be accurate, on their absolute lack of it—that they had to receive from such a quarter such a lesson in the most fundamental and the most elementary principles of morality and justice.

## THREE GENERAL VOTES.

Since the "battle of July 10," the S. L. P. has three times sustained its National Executive Committee by an overwhelming vote.

The first referendum had been issued on June 11th, or just one month before the battle occurred. Its object was to give the Party an opportunity of emphatically asserting its position in the quarrel forced upon its official organs by the editors of the "Volkszeitung," and to free its press from the financial control of men who disputed its principles and opposed its tactics. A few days before the battle took place, most of the returns were already in and the "Volkszeitung" not only knew, but admitted that it would be badly beaten. Hence its attempted "coup d'état" on July 10. The final returns, as published in THE PEOPLE of August 20 showed that 107 Sections had cast a vote of 2,042 in favor of, and only 98 against, severing the Party's connection with the "Volkszeitung" Association.

The second referendum was issued on August 8. Its object was to give the S. L. P. an immediate opportunity, not only of re-asserting its position, but of passing both upon the Kangaroo's "coup d'état" and upon the acts of the National Executive Committee in the defense of the Party. The returns, as published in THE PEOPLE of September 17th, showed that the National Executive Committee was sustained by the unprecedented vote of 2,742, as

against 119, making a total vote of 2,861 cast by 143 Sections.

The third referendum was called on September 10th, upon the demand of the San Francisco Section for a National Convention, which the National Executive Committee, for reasons clearly stated, did not deem advisable. Elsewhere in this issue will be found the returns of this third referendum. The opinion of the National Executive Committee is sustained by a vote of 2,518 to 390, making a grand total vote of 2,908, cast by 148 Sections.

The Kangaroos will be few and far between on election day.

## POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

Reference is made by a correspondent to the Colorado miners, most of whom cannot now be reached by the Socialist agitator, because, after long starving in enforced idleness, they are busy earning 25 cents for extra hours. This agrees with a glowing account of Cripple Creek "prosperity." Leadville "revival," and "rich strikes" everywhere, just published in the New York "Sun." "The estimated output of Cripple Creek this year is placed at \$20,000,000," and corresponding activity is reported in all the mining districts. The steady increase of ore production in the State has reached a point where mills and smelters are unable to handle the tonnage offered to them. It goes without saying that this prosperity has a double side; the 25-cent side in the mine and the million side in the mining stock exchange. The miner's time at the rate of 25 cents per extra hour is too valuable to be wasted on idle learning. But when an insignificant part of the gold which he is piling up for his exploiter will be given back to him in the form of lead, he will have time to think, ever so little; and this will happen at no distant day. At any rate, the seed of Socialism has been industriously planted in the mines, where it is slowly but surely germinating. The harvest time must come, and the crop will no doubt surpass the expectations of the most sanguine Socialist husbandman.

Of similar "prosperity" we have reports from every State in almost every industry. Comrade Kelnard's communication in this issue deals with Ohio. It will well repay the subscriber to read it twice for his own information and to read it to others every time he may catch an opportunity to do so.

As we write we have before us the last report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, in which is given the comparative percentage of the total males and females employed at specific weekly wages in 77 industries, 1896 and 1897. Not only the proportion of females employed, but the proportion of lower-salaried males and females has increased with the increase of prosperity. In 1897, 26.51 per cent. of the females, and 8.58 per cent. of the males received less than \$5 a week. Nearly one-half of the males and four-fifths of the females received less than \$8.

In the second supplement to the Socialist Almanac, entitled, "The New Trusts" and published last April, a list was given of 81 corporations or combines, nearly all engaged in manufacturing and aggregating a capital of nearly 3,000 millions. It was stated in conclusion: "Having duly considered all the available data, we are already able to state that fully two-thirds of the capital engaged in manufacture is now in the hands of only 3,000 great concerns (trusts, corporations and firms). In 1890 the amount of capital so engaged was 6,500 millions, and the number of establishments was 355,400." In the following two months, trustification was carried on upon a scale far surpassing the activity of any previous time, and at the beginning of June the New York "Journal of Commerce" published a list of about 400 trusts of various sizes, aggregating a capitalization of 7,300 millions. A number of these, however, were engaged, not in manufacture, but in commerce. Since then the movement of American capitalist concentration has steadily continued, especially with a view to international competition. But England has awakened to the threatening danger, and there also trustification has been entered into with a vigor sufficiently suggestive, though by no means as yet equal to the "American push." We have previously given at length our views of the coming international conflict for dominion in the world's market, and of the part which the "financial power" will inevitably be called upon to act in this last and most important phase of capitalist evolution. But we must again call attention to the fact that a determined, world-wide onslaught of organized Capital upon the Pure and Simple disorganized Labor must of necessity be one of the first thrilling incidents of this mighty struggle. Onward, then, with the only labor organization that can turn weakness into strength, defeat into victory, by opposing the awakened class-consciousness of the workers to the class-consciousness of the capitalists. Onward with the S. T. & L. A.!

"No Politics in Trade Unions." If you want to know the full meaning of this fakir's phrase, attend during this campaign a meeting of the Central Labor Fakirized Union.

The Brooklyn Comrades should not fail to attend the S. L. P. parade on Saturday evening, October 21st. For particulars see ad. on 4th page.

As we go to press we learn that the Spellman State ticket nominated by the Massachusetts Kangaroos, who bolted the regular convention at Worcester, has been withdrawn.

## "A. M. Simons, Editor."

The struggle, originating in this city, between shakels and principle, pure and simple and new trade unionism, Democratic taxation twaddle and revolutionary Socialism, fossilized death and organic life, has in the course of its rapid evolution brought to the surface many queer types: "talented" writers, whom the Party owes a living and for whose benefit "local" papers, to be supported by the national organization, should have been started in every nook and corner of the land; "able" speakers, whom the Party should have sent on tours through the country, whether it had the means or not; indigestible ex-Populists, who drifted into the S. L. P. for the lack of any other party to go to after Populism had been wrecked; reformers and Utopians, who have caught on to the PHRASE of the "class struggle" but have no idea of the THING; old women to whom Socialism stands for "democracy," "free speech," "honesty," etc., and last, but not least, "A. M. Simons, Editor."

This A. M. Simons is a practical confirmation of the correctness of Feigenbaum's famous dialectical proposition, made in the General Committee of Section New York, that "to be and not to be is identical." A Socialist, he fills the position of a district charity agent. An expounder of the materialistic theory of history, he does not sit down to a meal without saying his prayers. A preacher of the class struggle, he recommends the pushing of the "Social Crusader," accompanying the recommendation with a sample copy in which the "law of love" is announced to be cure-all for the ills to which man is heir. He accepts Marx's historical teachings, but rejects Marx's economics. He is editor of a professed S. L. P. paper, but dares not mention the name of the S. L. P. literary agency for fear of hurting the business interests of Kerr & Co. A believer in Christian charity, he makes the vilest insinuations and the grossest calumnies without the slightest attempt at producing a faint shadow of proof.

His latest performance is a scheme of national organization which is a perfect summary of the freak nature of the man. There is to be:

1. "A secretary, whose office shall be in some centrally located city. He is to have nothing (the editor means 'none') but purely clerical duties to perform." The centrally located city is Chicago, and since "A. M. Simons" is to remain "Editor," his secretary is to be deprived of the right of entertaining any opinions of his own, but shall be reduced to the position of a mere clerk.

2. "Organizers or lecturers to be elected by geographical divisions." A national convention may decide on a policy, a general vote may decide on a particular act, but the national committee is to be deprived of the power of sending abroad its agents to carry out the mandates of the national organization. "On the other hand, any geographical division, State, city or town, may send organizers and speakers to counteract and nullify these decisions."

3. "No official press." The national organization is also to be deprived of the right and divested of the duty of promulgating the doctrines of the Party through the Party press. On the other hand, any local organization hostile to the national organization may publish its views through its own press.

4. "Propositions sent out for referendum to be accompanied by opinions or arguments." The national organization is to have neither organizers nor speakers, nor press. It is prohibited from addressing itself either to the public at large, or to the Party membership.

In short, we are to have a national organization, but without a vestige of power. We are to have in the nation a party that is not a party. We are to have a party reproducing on a large scale the psychological ambidexterity of "A. M. Simons, Editor." Its existence is to be as ambiguous as his own life.

That "A. M. Simons, Editor," should propose this scheme for the consideration of serious men, proves conclusively that he can reconcile and unite in himself the subtlety of the Jesuit and the naiveté of a child.

H. SIMPSON.

New York, Oct. 14, 1899.

## Charles H. Matchett.

Were it not that the membership of the S. L. P. is entitled to a true account of the part acted by each member of the N. E. C. in the late conflict with the "Volkszeitung," the "mantle of charity" might well indeed be allowed to drop over and hide from view our ex-Comrade, Chas. H. Matchett. Even now I shall abstain from characterizing as it deserves his communication to the "People of the Forty Midnight Robbers." Severe comment is actually superfluous. The communication speaks for itself. It breathes from beginning to end, not the spirit of Socialism, to be sure, but the violent hatred of one man for another, and no attempt is made to justify, by the statement of one single fact, such a hatred—or "disturb," as he terms it. There is no need even of calling attention to the moral suicide flagrantly committed in this concluding sentence: "The May Day document issued to the Comrades on 'The Situation in New York' met with my disapproval in most respects and was only signed by me as a desperate means to bring the whole matter to a head and to give enough rope to the chief author of the trouble to hang himself."

But, leaving aside the moral suicide, there is in the sentence just quoted a statement which I cannot allow to stand without emphatic denial. The document in question—namely, "The Situation in New York"—either in the sub-committee which was appointed to draw it, and of which Matchett was a member, or at the National Executive Committee's meeting of April 23, which adopted it, DID NOT AT ANY TIME MEET WITH HIS DISAPPROVAL IN ANY RESPECT.

A brief review of what occurred there and previously is here appropriate.

On the 16th of April, 1899, the N. E. C. met in special session and received the "Volkszeitung" Board of Directors. I occupied the chair. The "Volkszeitung" Board, through one of its spokesmen (Nagel), stated that their Association had decided to present to us, for publication in THE PEOPLE, a reply to the article "Sign Posts," although, as "owners of THE PEOPLE," they

claimed the right to order such reply published without submitting it to the N. E. C. Thereupon I observed in language and in a tone as conciliatory as possible that the claim advanced surprised me greatly; that the constitution of the S. L. P., well known and fully recognized by the "Volkszeitung" Association when it undertook to publish our official organs and ever since, gave the N. E. C. absolute control of the contents of THE PEOPLE and "Vorwärts"; that no good purpose could be served by advancing such a claim if the object of the "Volkszeitung" Board was to end the dispute, and I would therefore suggest that, laying aside all irritating questions or reservations, the said Board proceed with the reading of their reply. As the editors of THE PEOPLE and "Vorwärts" (Comrades De Leon and Vogt) were officially concerned in the matter, they were, by order of the N. E. C., called in to hear the "reply" and to present their views in the discussion that might follow.

The "facts" which De Leon and Vogt submitted in correction or disproof of certain statements contained in the "reply" were so undeniable that the "Volkszeitung" Board of Directors did not even attempt to controvert them or to weaken their import. I then suggested that in the interest of truth and with a view to that mutual forbearance and good understanding which should prevail among Socialists, the Board might so revise its "reply" as to make it possible for the N. E. C. to accept it in settlement of all past differences and to declare the incident closed. But the suggestion was ill-received, one of the Board (Schnepper) saying bluntly, after consultation with his fellow members: "We have no time to revise."

The N. E. C. had now to decide as to what answer they would give to the "Volkszeitung" Board of Directors, the members of which were allowed to remain in the room during the discussion and could therefore have reconsidered their own decision before final action was taken.

Charles H. Matchett was the first speaker. He was very emphatic. The array of facts presented by De Leon, he said, left no doubt in his mind as to the incorrectness of the "reply," which, if published in its proposed form, would result in further dispute and strife. He would vote against its publication—and he did.

When the vote of 6 against publication to the 1 of Stahl for it was announced, the "Volkszeitung" Board withdrew and it was decided by a similar vote to issue a statement to the Party. A sub-committee of three was elected to draw it, subject, of course, to approval or amendment by the N. E. C. Matchett, Keep and myself composed that sub-committee. At the request of my two colleagues I undertook the task of writing out the statement which I duly submitted to them in ample time for careful consideration before the meeting of the N. E. C., on April 23. It was composed of two parts, namely, (1) the statement itself, entitled, "The Situation in New York," which I wrote in its entirety at my own home and which De Leon did not see until it had been approved by my two colleagues on the sub-committee; and (2) an "Appendix," comprising the most important facts which De Leon had submitted in writing at the conference of the N. E. C. with the "Volkszeitung" Board on April 16. Matchett did not object either to the spirit or to the wording of any of its parts. He did not object to one paragraph, to one sentence, to one line, or to one word in it. He voted for it at the N. E. C. meeting, and he signed it with as firm a hand as he could boast of at the zenith of life.

LUCIEN SANIAL.

## S. D. P.

## Society for the Defence of Polywogs.

Before the frog is formed he flits about in dark, mysterious liquids, also pools and ponds, in a condition of fineness, i. e., he's supplied with the body of a fish; he's a Polywog. Hard to trip up, and very sleek and agile in getting away from inquisitive folk. The big majority of these Polywogs die, never become Frogs. The chief characteristics of those that do become Frogs are: They become great croakers, they jump a "jump at a time," they'll stop for every gnaw on the road, they'll even turn back for something that looks like a gnaw; they make the most noise when things are dark and they're hard to be seen. Cases are known where they have entered houses in a somewhat determined way, at late hours. In such cases they do not spurn the help of toad-fish; why, no one knows; even Noah did not know why certain species were taken into the Ark by him, to say nothing about the Kangaroo. But the most peculiar thing! The Frog always eats enormous quantities of insects—but never was known to kill the eggs thereof. He knows full well he cannot live without the little vermin—until the day comes, that the Big Vermin eats Froggie. But this we will take up later.

We will now close with the following meditation on the passing of the Parted Ones:

We all must have a dumping ground,  
For things that are no use,  
For gnawed-off bones and fruits unsound  
For torn and ragged shoes;  
A battered hat,  
A glass that's cracked,  
An accordion out of tune,  
A split up bat;  
As a matter of fact,  
A cleaning is a boon.

And so we see, the "S. D. P." With useless objects flit,  
It clears the way, admirably,  
The stupid "pay the bill";  
A lot of freaks,  
A pack of "beauts"  
An innocent herd of sheep,  
A number of sneaks,  
And fakirs—some dukes—  
A Carl Schurz—get him cheap.

We all must have  
A dumping ground.  
LITTLE BILLY.

To the Comrades of Greater New York and all cities and villages of this State having a population of more than 5,000 inhabitants: Don't fail to register either Friday, October 20th, or Saturday, October 21st. These are the last registration days.

## The Hammer.

(Continued from Page 1.)

By Article IV, Section 1, of the constitution, it is the right and duty of the Section or sections (the seat) to suspend any member of the National Executive Committee who may be "GUILTY OF NEGLECT OF DUTY" and to elect a temporary successor in place of such suspended member, and to submit such action with the reasons thereof to a general vote of the Party.

It follows, assuming that "seat New York" had a right to suspend the State Committee, the same as a member of the National Executive Committee must first be FOUND GUILTY OF NEGLECT. In order to find them guilty, there should have been a notice served on them of the charges against them, and they should have been given an opportunity to be heard. They could not be summarily dismissed from their offices without a hearing or an opportunity to be heard. No such notice was served on them, and no such opportunity given to them. The members of this State Committee had the privilege of being important officers of the Party, and they should not have been deprived of that privilege without being given a chance to face their accusers. It is well settled that an association whose members become entitled to privileges, or rights or property therein, cannot exercise its power of expulsion without notice to the persons charged, or without giving them an opportunity to be heard. (Wachtel vs. Noah Widows' and Orphans' Society, 84, N. Y., 39.)

In the constitution and by-laws of the Socialist Labor Party, no provision is made for the service of notice of special meetings.

In the absence of such provision, or some agreement by the members to the contrary, such notice should be personally served, as required at common law, where the object is to deprive a person of his rights.

The legal principle is a general one, affecting all proceedings which may result in loss of property, position or character, or any disaster to another, that he shall be first heard by the tribunal considering his case, before that body will be legally permitted to pronounce his condemnation.

In the case of Loubat vs. Le Roy (40 Hun 552) it was said that "No man shall be condemned to consequences resulting from alleged misconduct unheard, and without having an opportunity of making his defence." This rule is not confined to the conduct of strictly legal tribunals, but is applicable to every tribunal or body of persons invested with authority to adjudicate upon matters involving civil consequences to individuals, and in that case, the rule was held to apply to membership in a club.

There was nothing in the printed notice or call for the special meeting of July 10th, from which the State Committee could even infer that they were to be tried for neglect of duty. The notice seems to refer only to the officers of the General Committee.

There a meeting is held designed to consider charges made against a member of a society, or to vote upon his expulsion; the notice of the meeting should indicate SPECIFICALLY its purpose and should be sent to all persons constituting the body in which the power of expulsion is vested. (See People ex rel. Neads vs. McDonough, 8 App. Div. 591.)

It follows, that, as the suspension of the Furman State Committee was illegal, that it is the regularly constituted party authority of the Socialist Labor Party, and as this committee recognizes Edwin C. Elston as the Socialist Labor Party nominee for Justice of the Supreme Court in the Sixth Judicial District, he is the regular party nominee.

At the hearing much stress was laid upon the fact that the National Board of Appeals had recognized the other Committee, and that the members of the Party in New York upon a referendum sustained the acts of the special meeting of July 10th.

The answer to those claims is that the National Board of Appeals gave no lawful hearing or notice of hearing to the Furman Committee. The proof shows that the National Board of Appeals acted EX PARTE, on the letter of Henry Slobodin, and without giving any hearing or notice of a hearing to the committee. As to the referendum, inasmuch as the suspension was illegal and void, there was really nothing to refer. Moreover, it is contended on the other side that the controversy has been referred, as the constitution provides, to a GENERAL vote of the Party, and that this vote does not sustain the decision of the Board of Appeals.

Where the duty is cast upon officials to determine the regularity and fairness of political methods, those methods must be subjected to the same tests as would those of any other body of men whose good faith is questioned, and no Court or Judge would be justified in sustaining them when found to be inconsistent with the degree of sound morals which must characterize an ordinary affair of business, even though they be recognized and approved by higher political bodies. (See matter of Woodworth, 16 N. Y. Supp. 147.)

The action of the special meeting held July 10th, suspending the State Committee, being absolutely void, it could not be cured or validated by the appellate board or the referendum.

The certificate of nomination of Edwin C. Elston is therefore ordered filed.

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when your subscription expires. Renew in time. It will prevent interruption in the mailing of the paper and facilitate work at the office.

## Arbeiter-Zeitung.

The German Organ of the S. L. P.

(Editor, MAX FORKNER.)

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY AT

317 Genesee Str., Buffalo, N. Y.

One year, \$2.00. Six months, \$1.00.

Three-months' trial Subscription 25 Cts.

Comrades! Do your best to introduce it among your German friends and acquaintances.



## Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan.

BROTHER JONATHAN (looking downcast)—It is awful, this discomfiment I have had with Mayor Jones! I had felt so sure he was a clever, smart, earnest, honest man, come to the defence of the working class.

UNCLE SAM—If you feel so thoroughly discomfited, it will be superfluous to take up, as I promised you I would, that "beautiful" motto of his.

B. J.—No; I wish you would.

U. S.—How does that motto run again?

B. J.—"I claim no privilege for myself or for my children that I am not doing my utmost to secure for all others on equal terms." You said that motto was fraudulent, as applied to and by him.

U. S.—Just so. Now, look here, look down this street. It is clear of impediments, is it not?

B. J.—So it is.

U. S.—A fine clear field to run a race in, eh?

B. J. (eyes glistening)—No doubt, U. S.—Now, suppose I were to pour my pockets with weights aggregating fifty pounds, and were to empty mine of all weighty articles; and that I then proposed to you to run a race down this street. What would you think of me, before starting, I declared to you the following poem:

"I claim  
"No privilege for myself,  
"Or for my children,  
"That I am not doing,  
"My utmost.  
"To secure for all—  
"Others on equal terms.  
"The field is clear—  
"Our terms are equal—  
"Start!"

B. J.—I don't think much of the poetry; it don't rhyme, and has no metre.

U. S.—Both about the rhyme and metre. That's just like you; always drawn aside from the substance by the shadow. Drat the rhyme or metre! What do you think of the SUBSTANCE of the poem?

B. J.—As rotten as its metre!

U. S.—Correct, and why?

B. J. (holds up his left hand, spreads its five fingers, and keeps tally with the index of his right hand)—First, because it is a swindle to tell me the terms are equal for the race, after you have loaded me down with weights, like Mr. Twain's shotted frog;

Secondly, because you don't need "claim" any privilege over me; you're already in possession of the privilege, by being equipped for the race, while I am loaded down against it;

Thirdly, because your trying to run with me under such disadvantages is me and advantage to you, is just the reverse of your pretence that you are trying to secure for me the advantage that you enjoy;

Fourthly—  
U. S.—You have done well. You don't need to give any more reasons. They all apply to Mayor Jones and his motto;

First, it is a swindle for him to tell the people of Ohio that the terms are equal for the race between him and all others; he is equipped for the race, being well off; the rest of us, weighed down by poverty. He can and does spend money to get himself before the public and run for office; we haven't money enough to keep the wolf from the door;

Secondly, it is a swindle for him to "claim" no privileges over us. He has those privileges now. He need not claim them. It is the height of dishonesty to so conceal one's advantage. With the wealth Jones now has, the race for wealth and the pursuit of happiness is easy for him, impossible for us.

I need go no further.

Mayor Jones' tirade against political parties in a mischievous way of undermining the tendency, now seen everywhere, of the workingman's feeling that ORGANIZATION is a perquisite to be accomplished anything.

Mayor Jones' "public ownership of all public utilities" is a fraud.

Mayor Jones' motto is clap-trap.

Vote the S. L. P. ticket!

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